except through the mediation of the chiefs. They try to pay them back by thievery. Parents try to teach their children not to steal by burning their fingers.

Crimes against established morals are also severely punished in Ruanda, although it is commonly maintained that these punishments are being mitigated. Formerly seduced girls of Kissaka, as well as their seducers had to pay with their lives. They were either thrown into the water or hanged from the roof of the hut above the burning hearth. At the present time the severest punishment is to banish the girl.

The official death penalty in Ruanda is to break the criminal's neck (kuhotora) or to impale him. In Lwabugiri's day, when the death penalty was more frequently administered, it is said that criminals were also thrown into the swamp with their arms and legs cut off. However, among the skulls collected by my men in Nyanza, in the swamp into which executed criminals were thrown, [279] there were some that showed traces of blows from a bush knife.

In the kuhotora type of execution, the head is put between two pieces of wood and twisted back with this leverage device.

The royal executioner, the Mutwa Muhenehene, is said to kill the king's victims with a spear.

The bodies of those executed in Nyanza are allegedly given to the king's dogs to devour.

The impaled criminal whom Dr. A. Römer had an opportunity to observe was tied between two bamboo sticks running the length of the body, one in front, the other behind. His hands were tied together in front. A stake three or four centimeters thick ran through his body from the perineum to the cranium, without injuring the neck externally. The corpse had no lower leg bones. It was already so decomposed that one could not tell whether these bones had been picked off by hyenas or chopped off by the executioner. The natives who were questioned were not in agreement about this. Dr. Kandt (1) gives the word kuvamba for impaling.

[113]

1. Kandt, R., "an account of his travels and research in Ruanda in Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 120.

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obligation to pay the bride-wealth, she could exert further pressure on her brothers by not agreeing to the marriage; finally, she had the power to curse her nephews and nieces. All this accounted for the importance of her role in the inzu. Nieces and nephews very often turned to her and she was often said to love them more than her own children. This difference between FaBr's and FaSi's attitudes toward Ego is perhaps reflected in the terminology. FaBr referred to his nephew by the word *muhunguwacu* (our-boy) and to his niece by *mukobwawacu* (our-girl), whereas the FaSi referred to both of them by *musengenezawanjye* (my niece/nephew). This last word contains the possessive 'my' used in kinship terminology usually for only the primary relatives, whereas the term of reference used by the FaBr includes the form 'our' usually used for secondary or more distant relatives.

Between Ego and the members of the generations alternate to his own, there were symmetrical relations of great familiarity and joking, with a preponderant sexual theme. The grandfather called his granddaughters his little wives and his grandsons his love rivals. The reason given for this familiarity is that it helped to cheer up the old people and to train the young ones in socially enjoyable talk. Grandfathers also participated in the socialization of the grandchildren by transmitting proverbs, legends, tales of past history, and mythological conceptions in which a great deal of the Ruanda view of the world was embodied.

As regards siblings, Ego was expected to have a respectful attitude towards his eldest brother, *uwamboneye izuba* (the first who saw the sun) even if the latter happened not to inherit the paternal authority over his brothers. In these cases he was honoured more than his brother who wielded the paternal authority. The eldest brother's advice was always asked by his siblings. Other brothers were expected to assume what we would call fraternal attitudes. But as brothers competed for their father's favour and had to share his heritage, there was under this appearance of cordiality a very deep rivalry and mutual distrust. It should be noted that all that is [illegible] of siblings applied both to half paternal siblings and to full siblings. In a descent group founded on agnatic principles the distinction of full and half paternal siblings is largely irrelevant.

Sisters were also expected to respect and obey their oldest brother. After they had reached puberty, however, he could not enforce obedience. The oldest sister's role was somewhat similar

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Boys from Twelve To

883 fifteen were in charge of cattle herds and were absent for several
[224] days and nights from the compound. They also hunted with their fathers.

Even before puberty, some socialization processes took place
869 outside of the nuclear or polygamous family. Mythological tales about the material world, the origin of man and animal species, the arrival of the Tutsi in Ruanda, beliefs concerning *Imana*, the spirits of the dead and other beings from the invisible world, the history of the kings of Ruanda, of the military conquests, folk-lore and poems about cattle, and stories of the ancestors and the lineage
[603] heroes were transmitted to the younger generation by the grand-
• 869 father. He was also the main agent of education in the modes of behaviour indicating what was to be done and what was to be avoided in order to gain social approval.

882 Between puberty and marriage the further education of Tutsi boys took place at the court of a chief or of the king. Hutu stayed
[868] in the paternal compound, mastering the different techniques of
[869] cultivation and also the attitude and abilities necessary for them to be appreciated by the lord. Sometimes the young man replaced his father in the service of the lord.

595 What has been said in this section up to now applied equally to each compound of the polygynous family. Children of different wives were not brought up together. In each compound the mother had a role very similar to that of the mother in a nuclear family. There was no head-wife. Usually one was preferred by the husband (*inkundwakazi*, the favourite one), but because of her qualities (obedience, tidiness, beauty, &c.), and not because she
[428] was the first married. But the fact that the eldest son of the first wife often succeeded to the father, gave her a particular importance and respect by the others because, after the husband's death, all of them would probably be dependent on her eldest son.

595 The mutual behaviour of wives and their children has been
593 mentioned before. It may be summarized as: respect to the favour-
183 ite wife and the first wife, and good 'fraternal' relations between all the wives and the children. This was the ideal behaviour which was often overtly maintained as long as the husband was living. But
[152] according to all our informants, the modal and covert behaviour was jealousy and hatred. A polygynous family was often designated by the word *amshali*, whose root *ishyali* means jealousy, and one wife used to refer to another as her *mukeba*, rival. In these

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the great traditions of military

courage of their forbears were made known to them, and the picture of the ideal Tutsi was impressed upon them.

The three main components of that ideal picture were *ubutware*, *ubugabo*, and *itonde*. *Ubutware* was the military courage so important in a group of conquerors. *Ubugabo* meant the quality of being a man (*mugabo*). This included trustworthiness in reference to promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage to accept one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority were predominantly personal in the sense that authority was rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis was put on fidelity in all interpersonal relationships. *Itonde* could be translated by self-mastery. To lose one's temper, to manifest violent emotions was shameful. Anger, particularly, could not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Tutsi was always to be dignified, polite, amiable, and a little supercilious. It was taken for granted that only vulgar persons showed off all their emotions. Hutu not being very self-controlled were much impressed by the external dignity of the Tutsi. There was in the *intore* companies a practical training in self-control. By jeers and scoffing, companions of the young Tutsi as well as older people, tried to make him angry and if he reacted emotionally, he was punished by further jokes. So finally he was able to remain apparently quiet and polite in any circumstances which would have elicited more violent reactions from people not thus trained.

Instruction aims at communicating a specialized knowledge and at teaching abilities in order to prepare certain individuals to fulfil the specialized tasks particularly useful to their group. The Ruanda armies instructed the young Tutsi in becoming experts in war and raiding. Some Tutsi are still proud of the superiority of their strategy over that of the Hima, pastoralists of related origin, who were living a more nomadic life in neighbouring territories.[21]

This socialization process, equipping personalities with qualities required of a nobleman, a courtier, and a warrior, was intended for Tutsi only. Hutu young men were not *intore* and did not become warriors, although Hutu were also members of the armies. But for them it meant being auxiliaries who carried the supplies

[21] On Hima, see Wilde, 1957.

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was: how to monopolize social and political power to their benefit without preventing a Ruanda society from existing and functioning as a unity? How to realize an equilibrium between the necessities of any social life and the necessities of a permanent dominion of a group? This fundamental problem may be analysed into three antinomies: maintaining a caste society and promoting the cohesion of the society as a whole; exploiting and protecting the lower stratum; delegating powers to subordinate authorities and establishing a centralized and absolute government. How were these antinomies solved?

(*a*) *Caste society and social cohesion*

In order that the members of a dominant and hereditary group may keep their privileges, it is necessary that what gives prestige remains exclusively under their control. We have seen that in Ruanda the basis of social power and prestige lay in the effective disposal of cattle. As indicated earlier, the feudal system permitted the Tutsi to keep complete control of all Ruanda cattle, as the whole of a client's cattle was always liable to be confiscated by the lord under any pretence. Moreover, outside the *buhako* structure, the king kept the pre-eminent right over all Ruanda cattle. Even if he did not use frequently his rights against Hutu, they were not forgotten: the very cows which were not received from a lord but acquired by one's own efforts and over which the possessor had usufruct plus bare ownership, were called 'king's cows' (*inka z'umwami*) as often as *imbata*.

Usually, an upper caste shows its superiority by, among other things, its leisure and pleasant life. It has to enjoy a greater share of the good things of life than the commoners and it has to get this apparently without effort, rather as a right than as a reward for specific tasks. It was again the *buhake* which made it possible for the Tutsi caste to enjoy 'gracious living' becoming to its high social status. The man in control of a few head of cattle could, through the clientage institution, live without having to participate in the manual work of the production processes.

A third requirement for the maintenance of a caste identity is the preservation of the group's *esprit de corps* and traditions and their handing on by one generation to the next one. This was done in the kinship groups mainly by the grandparents, particularly by the paternal grandfather. There, lineage values and particular

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traditions were transmitted. But a multiplicity of kinship group agents cannot be entrusted with a function as important for the caste as the socialization of its young members and their training in the qualities and virtues which had permitted their forbears to obtain power. Consequently, in Ruanda some formal institutes of education and instruction were set up. The *intore* companies in which every young man of the Tutsi caste spent several years, fulfilled these functions.

In order to avoid the dogma of the innate superiority of the upper layer being questioned if one of its members had to be cast out because he was unable to live up to the standards of his group, the clientage system acted as an institutionalized means of rescuing such people. It should be mentioned that the rescuer was not losing anything, as the Tutsi saved from social death could give him in return what was mainly expected from any Tutsi client: his attendance and his councils.

The tendency which leads a powerful group to constitute a closed caste, to maintain jealously its advantages, and to try to increase them, cannot be left without something to counterbalance it. Each caste, as Linton says, is a society in itself.[2] If the caste accentuates too much the characterististics which make it a socially complete group, isolated in the society of which it is only one layer, the cohesion of that society may be destroyed. Consequently, powerful factors of cohesion are needed to check the tendency towards social disintegration that exists within any caste structure. I have described solidarity factors already, but they may be summarized here.

First, there are certain groupings in which Tutsi and Hutu were to be found together. Names of the Tutsi and Hutu clans were similar. This suggested a certain solidarity among the bearers of the same clan name, however minimal it was. A comparable kind of Hutu participation existed in the armies. It is possible that the fact of having been commonly associated in dangerous circumstances gave a deeper feeling of unity to Hutu and Tutsi. The Ryangombe sect was open to Hutu and Twa as well as to Tutsi. Ryangombe himself is said to have addressed his invitation to join to every Ruanda, explicitly calling the Tutsi, the Hutu, the Twa, the men and the women.[3] As initiation ritual took place among kinsmen, however, there was no real inter-caste mingling in the

[2] Cf. Linton, 1936, pp. 130 f. [3] De Lacger, 1939, vol. I, p. 257.

diverts his love to the one that administers it to him—or to look for magic that will make the husband impotent when he is with other women, every sort of vengeance is normal among the wives of a polygamist. A Tutsi polygamist would not dare to settle his wives on one property. He places them on plots as distant from each other as possible. The Hutu polygamist congratulates himself that he can put all his wives together in one house. He is not rich, hence there are no motives for hatred under his roof. In this the Rundi were not unanimous: The Hutu insist that their wives obey them without backtalk but that Tutsi wives dominate their husbands. Against this idea, the Tutsi protested perhaps too much, while the idea evoked a Mona Lisa smile from the Tutsikazi. The enquirer was unable to seek verification in the houses themselves. There was talk about Tutsi domestic tyrants and a few of them were known, but the bulk of the evidence favours the Hutu point of view.

The contrasts between men and women parallel the Tutsi-Hutu case. Women are stronger than men, but clumsy and less agile; they are less stable and are less able to hide and control their emotions; they are much given to jealousy and competition in seeking the favour of the superior; they work for their husbands; they ask gifts of them. Although women as women are without doubt inferiors, their inferiority by no means excludes the possibility that character and behaviour will be reversed when they are in the roles of superiors.

Distinctions between the sexes begin at birth and increase with maturity. A little boy wears no clothing. His sister, from the first day of her life, wears the *ubudede*, a string of beads worn around her hips, which later in her life will be added to, especially through gifts from her husband. Except for the beads, however, there is very little attention paid to sex differences in infancy. Excepting among the wealthy, introduction to economic and social responsibilities occurs very early. Children, like any inferiors, must work and must obey the instructions and commands of their superiors. Boys are in the charge of their fathers and girls of their mothers. Apprenticeship begins earlier for girls than for boys. When she is three years old, a little girl, Tutsi or Hutu, is already old enough to accompany her mother to the fields and follow her about the house. At six, she knows how to sweep the yard, do a little work with the hoe, and carry on her head a sizeable basket of beans or a large gourd of water. At the same age, her brother, particularly among the herders, begins at last his apprenticeship with his father. Among the Hutu, boys are sometimes instructed by their mother or grand-

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never have to do menial tasks. Young girls are taught, so that they will be refined, to command and to correct inferiors gently but firmly; to weave pretty baskets; to rub red and yellow ochre on the wooden milk pots which are lined up on a long shelf to display the herder's wealth; to offer beer and food to visitors and to sing and dance, breasts bared, to entertain them. Later, a young woman must learn to cover her face with her scarf, to so arrange her numerous diaphanous white and yellow robes that her entire body is covered, and to engage visitors in conversation while shielded from view by a screen. She must learn how to listen and to understand. If a young girl has noticed that her mother is a good conversationalist, she takes into account the fact that her mother is discreet, intelligent and older than she.

The more closely a woman approximates to the feminine ideal for her caste, the greater her hope for the rewards due to a married woman. A good wife should receive from her husband a quantity of clothes and jewels proportionate to his wealth, permission to go out and to visit where she wishes, permission to drink her husband's beer and to take snuff. In addition she will be praised wherever her husband travels. If the husband has cows, he will give her several so that she and the children will have milk, and he may give her one or more as gifts. If he likes her very much, he will plan in advance the means by which she can remain on his property if he predeceases her. To be a good wife means first of all to execute wifely tasks efficiently. Then, towards her husband and parents-in-law, a good wife is always obedient and respectful, at least while there are outsiders present. Intelligence is a highly desirable characteristic and is indeed indispensable in anyone who will be the wife of a prince. A capable woman will be consulted by her husband, especially if he knows that she is cleverer than he. Among the Hutu, the husband asks advice of an intelligent wife before he goes to ask a cow of a Tutsi, before choosing a wife for their son, before he does anything. Among the Tutsi, a husband who takes pride in his wife's intelligence will consult her before he chooses a serf, goes to his superior to ask for another cow. He does nothing without her advice and boasts about her intelligence and loyalty to his friends. Among the princes, family and economic affairs are hardly distinguishable from affairs of state. Thus, intelligent women come to have a voice in matters of the first importance.

A good hostess who provides food and drink for her husband's visitors need never fear his anger. Just as women speak a great deal of the importance of receiving clothing from their husbands, so men speak a great deal of the importance of a warm welcome for